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Mbayá SK11

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory.

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government.

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . .

M 648 175
M [101]
M [131]
M [162]
G 175 131
G [241]
G [161]
G [648]

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Terena

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yúrikoyuvakái* taught the people to practice agriculture:

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomo'i;* the knife, *pirtíos;* the sickle, *yopílocóti;* the war club, *puló'oi;* the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopée. Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

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THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco.

Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures.

This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chañar (*Gourliea decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish.

Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánches Labrador says:

> The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]
[P. 6-B]

rounded by a number of hunters and when the jaguar attempted to break through the circle of hunters he was speared, the hunter catching the jaguar on his spear in midair. Game was also caught within a circle of a grass fire. Pitfalls made on deer, peccary, and tapir trails were also widely used. For birds and smaller game, the Terena used deadfalls and a variety of loop snares fastened to bent-over saplings. Ducks were caught by swimmers diving and coming up under the birds or by surprising them at night in shallow water where they could be killed with sticks or stones. Dogs were used for tracking and in driving game to places selected for dispatching them.

When a man hunted alone, the game he killed was his. This game was later divided among the members of the household. In communal hunts the carcass belonged to the man who was able to kill the animal. The owner later divided the meat among the hunters.

The Terena used hunting magic consisting of certain plants which were believed to bring good luck to the hunter. Shamans were believed to know the kinds of medicines that brought good luck. Animal fat and salt were considered harmful to the hunter.

Meat was eaten boiled or broiled over hot coals. The Terena also used the earth oven for baking and roasting meats.

AGRICULTURE

The Terena selected their croplands near streams because the soils were richer and the moisture more adequate in the bottom lands. Care had to be taken not to plant a field in an area subject to summer floods. Brushwood fences were built to keep out wild pigs and domestic animals such as cattle and horses. Gourd rattles were sometimes used to frighten away birds. Magic was employed to keep away insects and other parasites.

Sánchez Labrador has the following to say about agricultural lands of the Chaná:

> The greatest part of the territory consists of low lands, which are clayey during the rainy seasons. However, when the heat is intense water is extremely scarce and even drinking water cannot be found except near the Paraguay River or some other river which comes from the interior and runs amid trees. When water is scarce, the people move to places where water is plentiful and subsist on hunting and fishing. Before they leave their settlements they plant maize, gourds, cotton, tobacco, and

[P. 10-B]

beans, which they leave to take care of themselves. When they think that the crops ought to be matured, they send a messenger to find out. If these inspectors bring good news, they will return to their settlements and look after their fields. [Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, vol. 2, p. 258.]

The first rains of the season, usually in late September or October, gave the signal for planting. Lands selected for cultivation were first cleared of trees, underbrush, and grass with an ax (originally made of stone but in post-Columbian times of iron). The trees and bushes were then burnt and the ashes scattered over the field. With a digging stick, *ilome'i*, made from the wood of the "palo santo," the cultivator would then dig the ground, squatting on his heels, moving from place to place until the field was turned. With the coming of the Spaniards the Terena claim they began to use iron hoes and even a simple iron-shod wooden plow drawn by oxen. After the field was prepared the Terena waited for the first rains before putting in the seed. "We waited," they say, "until the first flowers appeared on the trees."

The above information checks closely with what Sánchez Labrador observed in the middle of the eighteenth century:

The Chaná are a good-humoured, modest people. They have a peculiar way of cultivating the land. With the above-mentioned spades they dig and weed, not as the Spaniards do, but sitting down. Their spades have handles one and one-half yards in length. The Chaná sit down and work with their spades as far as they can reach and then move along until all the land has been prepared for planting. They cultivate manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sweet potatoes, tobacco, and some cotton. [Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.]

The economic unit was the family or household, which consisted of the husband and wife, the children, and, in some cases, the sons-in-law. The clearing and digging of the land were performed by men. Women and children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. Cotton seeds, for instance, could be planted only by women.

The principal crops grown by the Terena were maize, sweet and bitter manioc, caré, beans, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, gourds, sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco.

Maize (soporó).—The Terena distinguished at least three kinds of maize: A long-eared yellow maize called *hianketi-soporó*, a white variety called *heopuiti-soporó*, and a mixed-colored ear called *kuati-soporó*. Maize was planted at the beginning of the rains and was ready for use 3 to 6

While in the Chaco the Terena also claim to have cultivated bananas and sugarcane, perhaps obtaining these plants from the Spaniards. The Terena word for banana is *panana*, which seems to indicate a rather recent date for this plant. The Terena word for sugarcane, *casána*, also points to the recent adoption of this plant.

Other crops cultivated were pumpkins, *kame*; beans, *kareoké*; tobacco, *chaki*; and cotton, *nevoi*. Tobacco leaves, when mature, were picked, rolled so as to squeeze out the moisture, and dried. The rolling was repeated several times. Tobacco was smoked in clay pipes. Cotton, of course, was spun into yarn and used for weaving cloth.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS AND BIRDS

The Terena had medium-sized short-haired dogs. Parrots, macaws, and rheas were kept for their feathers. Horses, *kamo*, and cattle, *vaka*, were acquired in raids, the horses being used for warfare and hunting. Cows appear not to have been milked but, no doubt, augmented the meat supply. Cows and oxen were used for riding, the animal being guided by a bridle attached to a ring in the animal's nose. Saddles, *nikokoróti*, for both horses and cattle, were made from dried banana leaves by tying two cylindrical bundles together so that the bundles would rest, one on each side of the animal's backbone, no stirrups being used.

MANUFACTURES

The Terena made baskets, fans, and hats from thin strips of bamboo, "carandá," and from "piri." The thin outer layer of the wild bamboo was cut into narrow strips from which large and small baskets were made by plaiting. Large baskets were carried on the back with the aid of a tumpline. From "piri" and "carandá" fibers, hats and fans were made, the fans being used for killing mosquitoes and for maintaining small cooking fires.

The Terena also used netted bags of various sizes for carrying and storing food and other objects. The string used was made from the fibers of the *yulú* plant (probably a species of *Bromelia*). The leaves of the *yulú* were first soaked in water to soften the cells surrounding the fibers, the soft substance being later scraped away with a wooden knife. The fine fibers were then twisted into string, *ihe*, on the thigh or spun on a wooden spindle.

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only forms of property that were actually inherited. The practice of burning a dead person's private property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons, and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave solved the problem of their disposal. Even the houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that the ghost of the deceased could not find its way back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

It appears, from what the Terena say, that the household was the primary economic unit. Both the men and women of the household, with whatever slaves they might have possessed, participated in agricultural labor. The men performed the heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground, while the women and older children assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and pottery making were the activities of the women. Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a communal hunt on horseback if such large action was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to clear, several closely related households would assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The migration of the Terena into their present location in Brazilian territory was followed by many changes in their economy. Here they found a new physical and social environment. Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were pushing westward, seeking land and labor for their new enterprises. The old free life of cultivation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops

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which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

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[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. Economically, the impact of a foreign people was felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits, customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts affected the life of the Terena more intimately and directly. The missionaries taught the people to wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments, and amusements became integral parts of Terena economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes was the growing dependence of the Terena on the money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches, tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians needed money. The railroad and the cattle ranches offered a ready labor market and we find the Terena in increasing numbers going to work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian world. The Indians became acquainted with the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the strange new world. In addition to the demand for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor and trade became essential elements in Terena economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize, beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges, mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

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ioc is still the staple food crop, with maize and beans coming second. Rice is highly prized, but it is expensive to buy and does not grow well in this area. Manioc and raw sugar are the principal cash crops. A few head of cattle are kept, and some of the Terena drink milk. Hogs and chickens add to the flesh diet of the people. Fishing and hunting supply only a negligible amount of food.

This, in brief, is the outline of the economic history of the Terena in the last hundred years. The shifting agriculturists, hunters, and raiders of the Chaco became settled subsistence farmers upon moving into Brazil. With the coming of the railroad and the influx of settlers there has been a gradual increase in the dependence on the money economy of the Brazilians. A more exact picture of Terena economy and the relative importance of subsistence farming and dependence on commercial transactions can be obtained if we examine the economic life of a typical village.

SOURCES OF INCOME IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

The Indian Post of Taunay[3] today has a population of 995. As this Post contains approximately one-third of the Terena population it will serve as a reasonably satisfactory sample of Terena economic life. Statistics show that families at this Post average 5 persons, which would give the Post about 200 families. Families, as a rule, have houses and lots either inside or outside the village, but all families do not cultivate farm lots outside the village. Sources-of-income study made at this Post in January 1947 revealed the following facts:

(1) About 100 men were away from the village working on ranches, on the railroad as section hands, or at various jobs in Taunay, Miranda, Aquidauana, and Campo Grande. The manager of the Post stated that 50 to 150 people are out of the Post at all times engaged in wage work. Men who work on the cattle ranches remain away from 2 weeks to 2 months, depending on the time of the year. Men who work for the railroad usually remain away for a year, often longer. If the man is married he often takes his family with him, living in quarters provided by the rail-

[3] The village is called "Bananal" by the Terena.

[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

tween the Post and Taunay or between the Post and the neighboring ranches. One man had a horse and wagon while the other two had two-wheeled oxcarts. Farm produce, building materials, and general merchandise make up the loads. In traveling short distances the Terena usually ride horses or walk; for long-distance travel they use the railroad.

(4) Three men were found to be employed as carpenters in the village. These men were making simple articles of furniture, such as tables and benches, and making or repairing yokes for oxen and parts for sugarcane presses.

(5) Two men, although living at the Post, were employed as masons in Taunay. Sometimes these men worked for the Post and sometimes on special jobs in the neighboring towns. They claimed they received 40 cruzeiros per day.

(6) Two men were making their living as commercial farmers, producing and selling manioc meal, raw sugar, milk, and meat. Some of this produce was sold in the village either to the stores or directly to the Indians. In addition, some produce, particularly manioc meal, was sold to ranches nearby.

(7) One man was found employed in making and repairing shoes and sandals and repairing saddles and harness. Most of his work was supplied by the demands of the village, but missionaries, also, at times used his services.

(8) One old man was found making a living by weaving baskets, fans, and hats from palm fiber. For his fans, which are widely used by Indians and Brazilians alike for maintaining charcoal kitchen fires, he receives 5 cruzeiros apiece from the storekeepers in Taunay.

(9) The remainder of the Terena at the Post were making their living by subsistence agriculture at this time.

Only very general conclusions could be made concerning the money income of the Terena living at Bananal. If approximately 100 men are receiving money income in the form of wages from sources outside the village the year round, this sum would constitute the major portion of the cash available for cash expenditures. Allowing 15 cruzeiros per day (the going wage on ranches) and a 5-day week, this would give the village a total of 390,000 cruzeiros per annum. To this would have to be added the money income of six

men working for the Post at 14 cruzeiros per day, or a total of 21,840 cruzeiros. The income from these two sources gives a total of 411,840. This in turn would give each of the 200 families a cash income of approximately 2,059 cruzeiros per year. This is the nearest approach to family money incomes that could be made. This figure is somewhat below the estimate of between 2,000 and 3,000 cruzeiros made by the manager of the Post as it does not include the sales of manioc meal and other services performed by the Terena, but as the latter figure could not be calculated it was not considered. It is true, of course, that many families would be below and many above 2,059 cruzeiros a year. Yet from general observation there are no marked differences in the standard of living of the Terena living at the Post. The cash figure of 2,059 cruzeiros, which is equal to a little over $100 (U. S.), has little meaning unless it can be expressed in terms of goods which this money can buy.

It must be remembered that the Terena produce the staple food products themselves while living at the Post and also while working on the fazendas. These staples consist of manioc, sweetpotatoes, beans, maize, and other vegetables. Money is spent primarily for clothing and such foods and household items that cannot be produced in the village or on the fazenda. A budget for a family of five was worked out which gives the following items of expenditure:

Annual budget for family of husband, wife, and 3 children

	Cr.$
Man's clothing for year:	
1 suit—5 m. of cloth at Cr. $15 plus Cr. $15 for tailoring	90, 00
3 shirts—3 m. per shirt at Cr. $9 plus buttons	85, 00
1 pair of pants	45, 00
1 pair of shoes	120, 00
Extras (straw hats, socks, handkerchiefs, razor blades)	50, 00
Total	390, 00
Woman's clothing for year:	
3 dresses at Cr. $76	228, 00
Underclothing—6 m. at Cr. $9,00	72, 00
1 pair of sandals	15, 00
Extras (combs, face powder, etc.)	50. 00
Total	365. 00

years ago. He is now living with a young woman [59] out of wedlock, and because of this he is not on good [588] terms with the Protestant missionaries.

Vicenti lives in a two-room house with stake [342] walls plastered with mud and thatched with grass. On the same lot his son has built an adobe house [177] with a tile roof with the bonus money he received [352] from the army. Also, the son has regular beds and chairs while the father still uses the old-type furniture. Vicenti cultivates land outside the village on which he plants manioc, maize, sweetpotatoes, cará, oranges, mangoes, tomatoes, and peppers. [241] From manioc he makes meal and also starch [438] which he sells to the Indians in the village and to the farmers around Taunay. Vicenti says that farming is the securest means of making a living. Vicenti and his son also cut planks which they sell. Vicenti's real trade, however, is making rings, [326] bracelets, and earrings out of silver and, sometimes, even gold. [463] He learned this craft from his uncle. He does not like to work with metals, he says, because it is bad for his chest. However, at this time, he was working on an order from a trader in Taunay. Sometimes he works as a blacksmith and mechanic. As he says, "We poor people have to do a little of everything in order to live." Asked how he learned to be a blacksmith and mechanic, he replied, "I learned by watching others for 30 years."

Vicenti has traveled considerably, for a Terena [166] Indian. When very young he went with his parents to the borders of Paraguay and remained there until he was 10, after which his family returned to Bananal. When he was 18 he began to accompany expeditions into northern Mato Grosso. He once made a survey trip with a missionary. He is acquainted with all the larger towns of Mato Grosso and many of the towns in western São Paulo State.

SHOPKEEPER

Domingos Miguel (native name *Temelé*) was [55] born in Bananal and is about 52 years of age. His father was a Catholic, but his mother was a [745] Protestant. Domingos was baptized a Catholic, but is now interested in Protestantism. His wife is dead and he lives with his four children, his [592] father-in-law, and brother-in-law.

He lives in a painted two-room adobe house with [342] a tile roof. A lean-to kitchen is attached. In

In 159
one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling.

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians.

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village.

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use.

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away.

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro.

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm.

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving.

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog.

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay.

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha He is married and has two sons and two daughters.

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him.

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors.

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few

[Bananal Village]

coats, although hand-knitted sweaters are seen. 000
Old women wear their hair long, parted in the 302
middle and tied at the back of the neck with a ribbon or a piece of string. Young women who have been to the neighboring towns braid their hair and some even have permanent waves. The young ones also use face powder and lipstick. Locally 301
made gold and silver rings and bracelets are worn, the bracelets often having the name or initials of the wearer engraved on them. Necklaces of store beads are in common use and one may still see a few old-fashioned necklaces made from small dried berries.

Children under 5 years of age go about un- 291
clothed except in cold weather when they wear a sleeveless shirt but no pants. Very young chil- [854]
dren are carried straddling the mother's hip.

Although the houses and cooking arrangements 515
of the Terena do not appear to be exactly sanitary, the people themselves are clean and neat. In hot weather both men and women bathe every day. Clothes, even when worn and patched, are kept clean by constant washing. During any day of [296]
the week women can be seen at the stock water dams washing clothes.

AGRICULTURE

The agricultural practices of the Terena, today, 241
conform closely to the methods employed by the "caboclo," or poor Brazilian farmer. The tools 177
used, the crops grown, the methods of storing and preparing field produce for consumption are the same. In fact, the Terena have learned their agricultural methods by working on Brazilian farms. If any differences exist they arise from the greater efficiency of the "caboclo," resulting in larger areas cultivated, higher yields, and a larger reserve of [412]
food products. In the preparation of the land, the digging stick has given place to the iron hoe, and the stone ax to the machete and steel ax.

When a Terena wishes to prepare a field he looks 241
for the type of soil and moisture conditions that are suitable for the crop which he wishes to grow. As the village of Bananal is on a plateau the soil tends to be rather sandy and dry, suitable for fruit trees and for manioc, which is a hardy plant. Surrounding the houses, therefore, are found orchards of mangoes, oranges, lemons, and bananas, and some manioc. The orchards are planted largely at the insistence of the Post manager. The mango

[Banana] Village]

trees, particularly, are not only fruit producers but provide excellent shade for humans and animals alike. The best soils are in the bottom lands along the stream beds. Soils from the slopes have washed down to these level areas and denser vegetation has provided a top soil of humus. The Indian takes care, however, not to select his field too near the streams as flash floods during the rainy season are common. Sugarcane, particularly, is grown in these moist areas. Rice also is sometimes grown here, but since moisture conditions are too uncertain the Terena are gradually giving up the attempt to grow rice near the village. When a Terena has selected his field he fences it to keep out the cattle and horses which roam freely over the Post lands. If his field is small he puts up a brushwood fence, if it is large the manager of the Post supplies him with barbed wire. Barnyard manure is not used except on areas cultivated by the Post. After a year or two the Indian abandons his field and moves to another site. Although land is plentiful, good areas tend to be selected farther and farther from the village and this tendency has led some of the Terena to build houses on their lands and to settle permanently away from the village proper.

When a Terena has selected his field and fenced it, he clears off the trees and undergrowth with an ax and a machete. The trunks and large limbs of the trees are cut up for firewood and carried to the village. Branches, weeds, and tall grass are burned and the ashes spread over the field and hoed into the ground. The field is now ready for planting.

Manioc.—As manioc is the principal food and article of trade of the Terena it is also the principal crop. About half of the total cultivated land is planted in manioc. Both sweet and bitter manioc are cultivated. As bitter manioc is the source of manioc meal, more of this variety is grown than of the sweet variety.

Manioc is planted at the beginning of the rainy season, that is, in late August or September, in rows about 3 feet apart. In each row a man makes holes about 2½ feet apart and 6 inches deep with a hoe. Another person follows, sometimes the man's wife or son, placing pieces of manioc cuttings in the holes and covering the holes with his foot. After 20 days the field is weeded to give the young plants an opportunity to grow. Thirty days

[P. 24-A]

[Chaco Period]

explain that this game was a form of training for war. 527 526

Later in the autumn season, when the Pleiades were high in the sky, the *ohéo'koti*, or shaman dance, was performed. As this dance is directly connected with shamanism, it was described under that heading. The next ceremonial act was the performance of the *chúkuchú*, or "tadique" as it is called in Portuguese. This game is still played by the Caduveo and appears, in the past, to have had a wide distribution in the Chaco. 756 527 535

The *chúkuchú* was, in fact, a contest between the members of the two moieties and was customarily played shortly after the *ohéo'koti*. Each moiety chief, *unati ashé*, put on his short ceremonial *shiripá* and numerous necklaces and painted his face black and white. The two chiefs would then sit down cross-legged facing each other in the village plaza. Each held in his lap a small drum, *póoku*, made by stretching a coati skin over a clay pot, and in his hand a *kali-itáaka;* each chief was surrounded by the adult members of his moiety. 616 527 527

When the chief commenced to sing, the contest began. Small groups, equal in number, were selected from each side and began a mock fight, trying to knock each other down. It was customary for the members of the *unati* to begin, the commoners coming later, and even the women participated in the final stages of the contest. The game consisted in each man or woman trying to knock down his or her opposite number. In this fight only bare hands could be used and it appears to have been something like a boxing match. While the mock battle was on the chiefs continued to sing, beating their drums with one hand and shaking their gourd rattles with the other. When all members of one side had been knocked down, another group was selected. The winners were always loudly cheered by their respective moieties. After the mock fight was finished the winners would be lauded and the feasting and drinking would begin, each moiety eating apart from the other.

In the past, then, the *kochúvonunéti*, *piritúti*, *ohéo'koti*, and the *chúkuchú* were the principal dances and games performed during the harvest season. This does not mean, however, that the Terena did not perform ceremonials at other times of the year. Marriages, puberty ceremonies, and events connected with succession of chiefs were 527 526 [241]

/29 cont./
121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

The first information available on the Guaná (26) show

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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses." (27) Already by this
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27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors." (28)

28. Ibidem.

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120. "The Quiquináus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikináu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

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648 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
184 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
167 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikináus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikináus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range...." (121)

121. 1948:218.

3:Oliveira--96 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Historical Brazil/ SL2
Brazil/ SL1

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas, without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

G /68 cont./
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make hammocks and various fabrics.--In their aldeamentos /villages/ they plant orange trees, lime trees, lemon trees, citron trees, and guava trees.

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They raise cows and horses and they are excellent vaqueiros." (Ibid.)

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And because they were good agriculturists and expert vaqueiros, "they are much /69/ sought by the fazendeiros, who also prefer them because they are contented with low pay, enough to clothe themselves, eat, and satisfy their vices." (130)

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130. Idem: 83. "They are frequently exploited by the fazendeiros.--It is hard to find a Terêna camarada who does not owe his master the very hairs on his head.--They once told me that a rich fazendeiro is in the habit, at the beginning of each year, of gathering his Terêna camaradas and telling them his settlement of accounts. To each he repeats the amount of his debt, along with facetious comments. After confronting them with their debts, he closes the episode with an extraordinary act of generosity. He subtracts a substantial percentage from their respective

[Cachoeirinha]

/76 cont./ Finally, both in
361 Capão and in Argola, the land plots are situated close to the
241 ranchos, which gives these nuclei an appearance similar to that of small farming fazendas, their chief crops being manioc--with which they make flour--, maize, rice, moranga /Cucurbita maxima/, abóbora /gourds/, bananas, etc.

[621] Other areas of population concentration, such as Saipuri, Buritizal, Vazante, and another score of ranchos scattered through the reservation are given the generic name of roças /farm plots/. This is due to the fact that the planted plots are adjacent to these ranchos, in contrast to the central nucleus, [231] which does not have this. The presence of cattle in this central [417] nucleus, along with pigs and chickens, loose in the aldea streets, prevents the families from having their planted plots close to the ranchos and compels them to have them in areas somewhat removed and duly protected with barbed wire fences.

162 The community is made up almost exclusively of Terêna
621 Indians. Taking the data of the census we carried out in 1957, as an illustration, we see that out of 907 inhabitants, 729 were Terêna, 16 were /77/ Kinikinâu, and nine were Layâna, while the rest were mestizos, the fruits of interethnic and intertribal unions.

439 Trade between the native aldea and the neo-Brazilian population nuclei, such as Duque Estrada and Miranda, is rather active, owing to the lack of economic autonomy of
434 Cachoeirinha (like the other Terêna communities). With the
439 exception of a few families--such as those referred to above as [556] "the rich," --whose members are not employed on the regional labor market, the rest subsist on the labor of the male element (father, husband, and brothers) whose salaries are channeled to the business houses of Duque Estrada, Agaxi, (140) and

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140. Agaxi is a small settlement, even smaller than Duque Estrada, situated southeast of the reservation, next to the river of the same

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

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159 He went on to say, with obvious satisfaction, that he was
875 the first Indian to study in that Instituto Norte-Americano da Missão Presbiteriana--and that he was followed by another Terêna, Hermes Baltazar, today his closest collaborator at the aldea school.

621 As the school grew, it developed into an aldea,
872 since it not only served Indians but also the surrounding neo-Brazilian population. With the construction of the second school building in 1951, the community had the facilities to maintain a complete course of primary studies.
[725] The supply of pupils for the "Escola Evangélica União"
[162] includes neo-Brazilian children, the offspring of small-farmer "Believers" /crentes/ (as Evangelists are called), the Terêna of Moreira aldea, which is made up almost exclusively of "Believers"--in which respect it differs from and up to a certain point contrasts with Passarinho--, as well as the children of União aldea itself, which at the time of our visit numbered some 10 families and a corresponding number of houses.

361 If we compare the three population nuclei of
312 Passarinho, Moreira, and União, we see that the situation
628 of the last mentioned is far more favorable: aside from covering an area somewhat smaller than that of Passarinho (118 hectares) and larger than Moreira's (53 hectares), it possesses a sizable water reservoir /tanque dágua/ that is the envy of some neighboring farmers, who do not hesitate to turn their cattle loose on União lands, which
[233] naturally displeases the Indians. The latter own cattle
[241] and plant extensive plots of manioc, maize, beans /feijao miúdo/, cane, and other species, more or less the typical products of Terêna agriculture and of the regional "domestic farming." Neither Moreira nor Passarinho have
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[Lalima]

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group of seven dwellings situated near Barreiro stream, on the boundaries of the reservation, in an area of campos utilized for cattle-raising by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and by the Indians themselves.

As for the production areas of the community, it can be said that three-fifths of the reservation consist of winter pastures and "second-growth" campos for cattle-raising. The remainder is used for buildings and farm plots. As can be seen, Lalima is characterized by being an aldea tied to pastoral activity, in spite of /the fact that most of the Indians work on/ their farm plots and at the extraction of angico bark on the fazendas of the município. Very few families own cattle, and only a small number of men are called upon to work with the post stock-raising.

Lalima's chief means of communication with the outside are two roads; one, 48 kilometers long, that goes to Miranda, and another, about four kilometers long, that connects the aldea to Pôrto Lalima, on the Miranda River. Each of these roads has, at points favorable to trade with the Indians, a "bolicho" that supplies--at prices much higher than in Miranda--varied merchandise to its population. The nonexistence of frequent and inexpensive boats to Miranda makes the most common means of access to the city the long road, which is usually traveled on foot. This seems to be the factor most conducive to the constant immigration of Terêna Indians to the aldeas close to the city, as referred to earlier. Among the tribal contingents that increased the population of Lalima, the most important are the Kinikináu and the Terêna; and everything indicates that while the former remained in Lalima, the latter was the one that became the group to show the greater mobility.

/85 cont./ [Banana/ and Ipegue]

tendency to urbanization, did not fail to contaminate Ipegue, for the simple reason that the inhabitants of Ipegue had to go through Bananal to reach the railroad line; this owing to the geographic position of Bananal, situated between that aldea and the neo-Brazilian settlement of Taunay. The boundary between the two aldeas is Ipegue stream, full during the rainy reason--December to February--and reduced to a stream in the dry season, easily crossed on foot. It and two reservoirs, one in each /86/ of the aldeas, supply the communities with water. Which is not to say that in some years Ipegue and Bananal have not suffered from total drought; this is also the problem of Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, and Moreira.

The layout of Ipegue is the same as that of Bananal, excepting naturally that degree imposed by the tendency to a more rapid urbanization of the latter. It comprises a central nucleus of 50 houses, aside from the post (a subpost, subordinate to the Taunay Native Post), the school, and the Catholic church. At the boundary with Bananal, that is, close to Ipegue stream, thus next to the road that connects the two aldeas, we find five ranchos with their respective farm plots. On the other side, northwest of Ipegue, on the boundaries of the reservation, there is a concentration of ranchos, about a half score, at the place called "Roças." Similarly to Cachoeirinha and Bananal, the farm plots of the inhabitants of the central nucleus are quite far off, in duly fenced-in areas, protected not only from cattle but also from pigs and chickens.

Ecologically speaking, Ipegue and Bananal are tied to the city of Aquidauana, whereas Cachoeirinha, Moreira, Passarinho, União, and Lalima are tied to Miranda. The major purchases in those communities are made in Aquidauana, while minor ones are made in Taunay. In this regard, we had the opportunity to meet the Terêna "bolichoeiro" of Bananal, in Aquidauana, and we saw the amount of his purchases to supply his store in the aldea. But, aside from Bananal and Ipegue, two other aldeas are also tied to Aquidauana and far more intimately so: they are Limão Verde and Aldeinha.

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikinau (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

484 648 [241] [482] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 825 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it ● 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [34] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

[Francisco Horta]

G Gi 433 511 241 439 Gi [464]

/97 cont./ But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

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To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al- [171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

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156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]

/102 cont./

433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti, for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced the character of native production in the respective communities very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that benefit from the post production, whether through receiving seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] /feijão miudo/, and sometimes rice) which are not even sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the aldeas
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned out-
[314] side the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen of the fazendeiros of the region, or in agricultural work, for which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation is taken up by the neighboring middling and small farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without damaging it.

/104 cont./

184 include any native families
233 that own reasonable numbers
511 of beeves sufficient to give them relative economic independence, like those of Lalima and Brejão.

184 Cachoeirinha it was still possible to find, up to a short time
233 ago, one or two families that subsisted exclusively on their
511 herds of cattle; however, the shortage of water and the increasing impoverishment of the pastures made it impossible for those families to remain in the aldea and to go on tending
[166] their herds. One family from Bananal and one from
[441] Cachoeirinha finally left the aldea, the former selling its herd
[427] and going to live in Campo Grande, as the owner of a trading establishment, and the latter renting fields from neighboring
182 fazendeiros and fattening its cows on them. These two aldeas,
241 like the others not possessers of good pasture grounds, and,
511 especially, of an abundance of water, are characterized by their agricultural activities and make it possible for a few families to obtain all their means of subsistence from fields of rice, maize, cane, manioc, and beans, to list only the chief species cultivated.

184 The most significant differences between Terêna com-
571 munities must be sought, nevertheless, on the associative plane,
177 since that is what reflects the most violent--and relatively recent--impact on these Indians of the regional society.

797 We refer in particular to the activities of the Protestant
798 religious missions. These, as a new institution--since they came to operate in a region traditionally covered by Catholic missionaries--entered in the Terêna villages into a highly competitive situation, insofar as their objective was to convert those Indians who called themselves Catholics, more by force of habit than properly speaking by /line missing here/, more intensive and efficient than the Catholic, the Protestant

/133 cont./

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

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1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

/39 cont./
time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities, of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the parents dies, all the children of the family receive different names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow, remain unchanged after a death.

The spouses find each other again after death and then remain together. My informant, who is a widower, says: I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or, when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, nothing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the earth. My life never stops completely.

Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikŭ, because otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too, and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or three days; formerly it was five days.

312 /406 cont./ Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees
439 many women with nets filled with water calabashes, which they
[415] carry on a forehead band.

241 The Terenos plant cotton, maize, and chiefly mandioca.
242 The last-named root is the principal constituent of their diet.
439 A flour (farinha de mandioca) which they make out of the above-
286 named root always finds a good market in Miranda. The Terenos display much taste and patience with regard to weaving. A girl often works six months and more on a hammock. To make up for it, however, these things are also durable and solidly made.
[531] The hammocks are white with a red or blue pattern. They obtain
[586] the blue dye from a plant which they call uito (in any case, indigo).
The stems and leaves of the plant named are boiled and then the
[439] yarn is dipped in this brew. The red wool which often appears in their woven work comes from red flannel which they barter for in Miranda. This flannel is cut into pieces, pulled to threads, and then spun again. I saw weaving frames of all sizes with work begun on them in all the huts. They greatly prize their own products, because the latter are very durable, and only very unwillingly yield to bartering them. If they do this, they demand
[415] an audaciously high price for them. The red and white bags with
[531] blue and white bead embroidery are very popular; such bags are
[586] usually the first present from the bride to the bridegroom.

323 The Terenos are likewise very skilled in the making of pottery and display quite a special taste in this. The manufacture is very simple and without any tools. The potter kneels on the stamped, hard, smooth ground; at his side lies a pile of sticky clay, from which he rolls a piece into a ball; he then rolls this into a long roll and forms a ring out of it. He now lays several such rings over one another /407/ and presses and smooths with his hands the vessel thus produced, until it has the proper form. When the vessel is finished to this extent, the pattern is impressed with a string into the still soft mass of clay; it is dried in the sun for a few days, and then it is fired in a very simple manner. That is, the utensils are covered with dry wood and then the latter is set afire. After a few hours the crockery is taken out and the impressed

/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians, who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira, Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market; from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part, the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[527] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet, eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.